

Ex. Doc. No. 25.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

REFUSAL TO FURNISH INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. SLIDELL.

MESSAGE

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

Documents in relation to the return of Santa Anna and Paredes to Mexico, and refusing to furnish the instructions given to Mr. Slidell, as requested by the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 4th January, 1848.

JANUARY 13, 1848.

Read, and made the special order of the day for Tuesday next.

To the House of Representatives of the United States:

I have carefully considered the resolution of the House of Representatives, of the fourth instant, requesting the President to communicate to that House "any instructions which may have been given to any of the officers of the army or navy of the United States, or other persons, in regard to the return of President General Lopez de Santa Anna, or any other Mexican, to the republic of Mexico, prior or subsequent to the order of the President or Secretary of War, issued in January, 1846, for the march of the army from the Nueces river, across 'the stupendous deserts' which intervene to the Rio Grande; that the date of all such instructions, orders and correspondence, be set forth, together with the instructions and orders issued to Mr. Slidell at any time prior or subsequent to his departure for Mexico as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to that republic;" and requesting the President

also to "communicate all the orders and correspondence of the government in relation to the return of General Paredes to Mexico."

I transmit herewith reports from the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy, with the documents accompanying the same, which contain all the information in the possession of the executive, which it is deemed compatible with the public interests to communicate.

For further information relating to the return of Santa Anna to Mexico, I refer you to my annual message of December 8th, 1846. The facts and considerations stated in that message induced the order of the Secretary of the Navy to the commander of our squadron in the Gulf of Mexico, a copy of which is herewith communicated. This order was issued simultaneously with the order to blockade the coasts of Mexico, both bearing date the 13th of May, 1846, the day on which the existence of the war with Mexico was recognized by Congress. It was issued solely upon the views of policy presented in that message, and without any understanding on the subject, direct or indirect, with Santa Anna or any other person.

General Paredes evaded the vigilance of our combined forces by land and sea, and made his way back to Mexico, from the exile into which he had been driven, landing at Vera Cruz, after that city and the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa were in our military occupation, as will appear from the accompanying reports and documents.

The resolution calls for the "instructions and orders, issued to Mr. Slidell at any time prior or subsequent to his departure for Mexico as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to that republic." The customary and usual reservation, contained in calls of either house of Congress upon the executive for information relating to our intercourse with foreign nations, has been omitted in the resolution before me. The call of the House is unconditional. It is, that the information requested be communicated, and thereby be made public, whether in the opinion of the executive, who is charged by the Constitution with the duty of conducting negotiations with foreign powers, such information, when disclosed, would be prejudicial to the public interests or not. It has been a subject of serious deliberation with me, whether I could consistently with my constitutional duty, and my sense of the public interests involved and to be affected by it, violate an important principle, always heretofore held sacred by my predecessors, as I should do by a compliance with the request of the House.

President Washington, in a message to the House of Representatives, of the 30th of March, 1796, declined to comply with a request contained in a resolution of that body, to lay before them "a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with the King of Great Britain," "together with the correspondence and other documents relative to the said treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiations may render improper to be disclosed." In assigning his reasons for declining to comply with the call, he declared that, "the nature of foreign negotiations requires caution, and their

success must often depend on secrecy; and even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, and eventual concessions, which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniences; perhaps danger and mischief in relation to other powers. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate; the principle on which that body was formed, confining it to a small number of members. To admit, then, a right in the House of Representatives to demand, and to have, as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent."

In that case, the instructions and documents called for related to a treaty which had been concluded and ratified by the President and Senate, and the negotiations in relation to it had been terminated. There was an express reservation too, "excepting" from the call, all such papers as related to "any existing negotiations" which it might be improper to disclose. In that case, President Washington deemed it to be a violation of an important principle, the establishment of a "dangerous precedent," and prejudicial to the public interests, to comply with the call of the House.

Without deeming it to be necessary, on the present occasion, to examine or decide upon the other reasons assigned by him, for his refusal to communicate the information requested by the House, the one which is herein recited, is, in my judgment, conclusive in the case under consideration.

Indeed, the objections to complying with the request of the House, contained in the resolution before me, are much stronger than those which existed in the case of the resolution in 1796. This resolution calls for the "instructions and orders" to the minister of the United States to Mexico, which relate to negotiations which have not been terminated, and which may be resumed. The information called for, respects negotiations which the United States offered to open with Mexico immediately preceding the commencement of the existing war. The instructions given to the minister of the United States, relate to the differences between the two countries, out of which the war grew, and the terms of adjustment, which we were prepared to offer to Mexico, in our anxiety to prevent the war. These differences still remain unsettled, and to comply with the call of the House, would be to make public through that channel, and to communicate to Mexico, now a public enemy, engaged in war, information which could not fail to produce serious embarrassment in any future negotiation between the two countries.

I have, heretofore, communicated to Congress all the correspondence of the minister of the United States to Mexico, which, in the existing state of our relations with that republic, can, in my judgment, be at this time communicated, without serious injury to the public interest.

Entertaining this conviction, and with a sincere desire to furnish any information which may be in possession of the executive department, and which either house of Congress may, at any time, request, I regard it to be my constitutional right and solemn duty, under the circumstances of this case, to decline a compliance with the request of the House contained in their resolution.

JAMES K. POLK.

WASHINGTON, *January 12, 1848.*

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *January 12, 1847.*

SIR: In compliance with the direction contained in your endorsement on the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 4th instant, I have the honor to transmit, herewith, copies of all papers in this department, which it is believed are within the purview of the resolution.

A list of the accompanying papers is hereunto annexed.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. Y. MASON.

To the PRESIDENT.

List of papers accompanying the letter of the Secretary of the Navy to the President, dated January 12, 1848.

1. Letter from Mr. Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, to Commodore Conner, dated May 13, 1846.

2. Instructions from the Secretary of the Navy to the commander of the home squadron, dated May 13, 1846, respecting the blockade of the Mexican ports.

3. Letter from Commodore Connor to the Secretary of the Navy, dated at Sacrificios, August 16, 1846.

4. Extract of a letter from Commodore Connor to the Secretary of the Navy, dated off Vera Cruz, August 25, 1846.

5. "Address of General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, to his countrymen, upon the subject of the plan proclaimed for the real regeneration of the republic," issued at Vera Cruz, August 16, 1846, and enclosed by Commodore Connor.

6. Letter from Hon. Thomas H. Benton to Mr. Mason, Secretary of the Navy, dated April 5, 1847.

7. Letter from the Secretary of the Navy to Wm. Cary Jones, esq., dated May 3, 1847.

8. Letter from Mr. Jones to the Secretary of the Navy, dated May 4, 1847.

9. Letter from the Secretary of the Navy to the commandant of the navy yard at Norfolk, dated May 4, 1847.

10. Despatch No. 15, from Commodore Perry to the Secretary of the Navy, dated at Anton Lizardo, August 18, 1847, with its enclosures.

11. Duplicate of Commodore Perry's despatch, No. 23, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated at Vera Cruz, 7th September, 1847, with the accompanying papers.

12. Letter from the Secretary of the Navy to Commodore Perry, dated October 20, 1847.

No. 1.

[PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.]

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *May 13, 1846.*

COMMODORE: If Santa Anna endeavors to enter the Mexican ports, you will allow him to pass freely.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Commodore DAVID CONNOR,
Commanding Home Squadron.

No. 2.

U. S. NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, May 13, 1846.

COMMODORE: Congress having declared that a state of war exists between the United States and the republic of Mexico, you will exercise all the rights that belong to you as commander-in-chief of a belligerent squadron.

Your own intimate acquaintance with the condition of Mexico will instruct you best what measures to pursue in the conduct of hostilities, in addition to those suggested by the department.

You will declare and enforce a blockade of as many of the ports of Mexico as your force will enable you to do effectually; and you will inform the department as speedily as possible of those which you blockade. You will duly notify neutrals of your declaration, and give to it all the publicity in your power. It is believed that the ports between Guazacualco and the Del Norte are those to which your attention should principally be directed. Your blockade must be strict and absolute; and only public armed vessels of neutral powers should be permitted to enter the Mexican ports which you shall place in a state of blockade. To neutrals that are already in the ports, you will allow twenty days to leave them.

In your letter to the department of the 19th of March, you ask if the English mail steamers that touch monthly at Vera Cruz and Tampico should be included in any blockade which, in the event of hostilities, may become necessary. You are hereby instructed, until further orders, to follow the precedent set by the French, in their recent blockade of Vera Cruz, with regard to them.

You will seize all the ships and vessels of war belonging to Mexico, that may be accessible.

If your means will permit you to do so, you will approach Tampico, and take, and, if practicable, will hold possession of that town.

The department does not suppose your forces to be adequate to attempt the capture of San Juan d'Ulloa.

You will keep up a constant communication with our army on the Del Norte; and adopt prompt and energetic measures to render it all assistance that may be in your power.

If any of the Mexican provinces are disposed to hold themselves aloof from the central government in Mexico, and maintain pacific relations with the United States, you will encourage them to do so, and regulate your conduct towards them accordingly.

You are enjoined to maintain a frequent correspondence with the department.

The steamer "Princeton" has sailed to join your squadron, and will be of service, especially as a despatch vessel.

The brig "Perry" will sail during the present week for Chagres; and, on its return, will join your command.

The brig "Porpoise" will rejoin you on its return from St. Domingo.

The brig "Truxton" will follow in a few days. Your force will then consist of the following vessels:

| | | | |
|---------|-----------------|----|-------|
| Frigate | Cumberland, of | 44 | guns. |
| Do | Raritan, of | 44 | " |
| Sloop | Falmouth, of | 20 | " |
| Do | John Adams, of | 20 | " |
| Do | St. Mary's of | 20 | " |
| Steamer | Mississippi, of | 10 | " |
| Do | Princeton, of | 9 | " |
| Brig | Porpoise, of | 10 | " |
| Do | Somers, of | 10 | " |
| Do | Lawrence, of | 10 | " |
| Do | Perry, of | 10 | " |
| Do | Truxton, of | 10 | " |

Schooner Flirt.

The country relies on you to make such a use of this force as will most effectually blockade the principal Mexican ports, protect our commerce from the depredations of privateers, assist the operations of our army, and lead to the earliest adjustment of our difficulties with Mexico.

You will adopt all proper precautions to preserve the health of your men.

I commend you, and your ships' companies, to the blessing of Divine Providence.

Very respectfully,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Commodore DAVID CONNOR,

Commanding Home Squadron.

No. 3.

PRINCETON, *Sacrificios*, August 16, 1846.

SIR : The brig-of-war Daring, just about sailing for New Orleans, with despatches from the English minister in Mexico to Mr. Packingham in Washington, allows me an opportunity and sufficient time to inform you that General Santa Anna and his officers have just now arrived at Vera Cruz, in the English merchant steamer Arab, from the Havana. I have allowed him to enter without molestation, or even speaking the vessel, as I was informed by the senior English naval officer here, Captain Lambert, she carried no cargo, and would not be allowed to take any in return. I could easily have boarded the Arab, but I deemed it most proper not to do so, allowing it to appear as if he had entered without my concurrence.

It is now quite certain the whole country—that is, the garrisons of every town and fortress—have declared in his favor. But, unless he has learnt something useful in adversity, and become another man, he will only add to the distractions of the country, and be hurled from power in less than three months.

At last the Relief is just coming in. No vessels with coal have yet arrived. Vessels with coal for a supply of the small steamers will be necessary here—without it they would be of little service.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. CONNOR,

Commanding Home Squadron.

HON. GEORGE BANCROFT,
Secretary of the Navy.

No. 4.

Extract of a letter from Commodore David Connor, commanding home squadron, to the Secretary of the Navy, dated

“U. S. SHIP CUMBERLAND,
Off Vera Cruz, August 25, 1846.

“SIR : I had only time on the 16th instant, before the sailing of H. M. brig Daring for New Orleans, to communicate to the department the arrival of General Santa Anna at Vera Cruz. After issuing the enclosed manifesto, he retired, on the 18th, to his estate of Mango de Claro. Almonte and Rejon, who accompanied him from the Havana, have gone to Mexico, to prepare for his reception in that city. It is manifest, from the tone of several of the leading journals, that he will meet with a strong opposition. Indeed, it is stated that a reaction was looked for in the capital in favor of Herrera, and that a portion of the troops were in his favor.

“General Salas, who at present directs Mexican affairs, has ordered all the force hitherto employed in suppressing the revolt in

Jalisco, to repair without delay to the northern frontier. It may amount to fifteen hundred or two thousand men."

* * * *

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. CONNOR,

Commanding Home Squadron.

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT,

Secretary of the Navy, Washington.

No. 5.

[Translation.]

Address of General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna to his countrymen, upon the subject of the plan proclaimed for the real regeneration of the republic.

[Issued at Vera Cruz, August 16, 1846, and enclosed in Commodore Connor's letter of the 25th of August, 1846.]

MEXICANS: Called by the people and the garrisons of the departments of Jalisco, Vera Cruz, and Sinaloa, south Mexico, and other points of the republic, I quitted Havana on the 8th instant, at nine in the evening, with the sole object of coming to aid you in saving our country from its enemies, internal and external.

Great has been my joy, when, on arriving at this point, I learned that the former had been overthrown by your own forces, and that I was already proclaimed on all sides as general-in-chief of the liberal army. A proof of so much confidence will be met by me with the utmost loyalty; but on accepting the plan proclaimed, allow me to enter into some explanations, which I consider necessary, in order to dispel any suspicions founded on the past, the recollections of which are so painful to me.

Desiring to consolidate peace in the interior of the republic, in order to make it flourish and prosper, and to assure by that means the integrity of our immense territory, I devoted all my efforts, in consequence of the events of 1834, to establish an administration endowed with vigor and energy, and capable of keeping down the spirit of turbulence and disorder. Without ever going beyond republican forms, I endeavored for this purpose to support myself on property, on high position, on creeds, and even on the few historical memorials existing in our country; hoping thus to moderate, by the *inertia* of conservative interests, the vehemence of popular masses. But without ascendancy and prestige, as I was, and the elements assembled by me being viewed with distrust, resistance was made on all sides; which I, however, expected to overcome in time. I call God to witness, that in this I acted with patriotism, with sincerity, and with good faith.

After some years of trial, I began to remark that the republic did not advance; that some departments showed tendencies of sep-

aration from the others; and that the public discontent was daily increasing. Wavering then in my convictions, they afterwards lost all their power when a part of the country had been occupied by strangers, and our national existence of the whole was endangered. I called on the people to the rescue, and they answered me with threats, as if any other misfortune could have been preferable to that in which the country was then placed. Urged by the firm determination that we should be a sovereign and independent people, and knowing, on the other hand, the vast resources on which we could rely for support, I then became convinced that, our government being organized in a manner by no means conformable with the wishes of the nation, and governed by a secondary legislature not adapted for the advancement of its interest, the people revenged themselves in that way, by seeking for an occasion in which they should be called on to take care of their own good, and to organize their government in a manner which they should consider most proper.

In our time, we have seen another nation, in a similar conflict, employ similar means to oblige its government to promise the representative system, which it was anxious to have established; and when that had been obtained, we have seen its moral apathy changed into heroic enthusiasm against the foreign invader who endeavored to subjugate it. Is there anything, therefore, strange in the idea that our people should in this instance do as much to recover the full enjoyment of their sovereignty, acknowledged by all governments, though trodden under foot by all, in the practical administration of affairs? On this point, I owe to my country, in consideration of the part which I have taken, to declare frankly and honestly, upon this critical and solemn occasion, that it can be saved only by a return to first principles, with entire submission of the minority to the sovereign will of the majority of the nation.

Upon proof so clear and peremptory, of the serious difficulties attending that which I had considered best calculated to secure to the republic respectability abroad, I found it right to recede, and to yield to public opinion, and follow it with the same ardor and constancy with which I had opposed it before comprehending it. To discover the most effective means of raising the spirit of the public, and predisposing it to the war with which we were threatened on the north, was my employment; and I was beginning to develop the measures for that purpose, when the events of the 6th December, 1844, occurred, and plunged the republic into the miserable situation in which you now see it.

Expatriated from that time forever from the national territory, with a prohibition to return to it under the hard penalty of death, the obstacle which I was supposed to present to the establishment of an administrative system, conformable with public exigencies, being removed, I believed that the men who had succeeded in placing themselves in my stead, by calling public opinion to their aid in effecting it, would respect that opinion, and summon the nation to organize its government according to its own wishes. Pained as I was, not to be allowed to take part in the real regeneration

of the country, I still most sincerely desired it; because I believed that whilst our political horizon was daily becoming darker, no other means were left to save us.

My prayers for this were redoubled in consequence of seeing the development of the invasive policy of the United States, stimulated by the perfidy of the cabinet of General Herrera, on the serious question of our northern frontiers; the European press began to indicate the necessity of a foreign intervention in our domestic concerns, in order to preserve us from the ambitious projects of the neighboring republic. That, however, which raised my uneasiness to the greatest height, was to see in a newspaper of credit and influence, published in the Old World, a proposition made in October last, to bring us back by force under the yoke of our ancient masters. My conviction was, nevertheless, still strong, that no Mexican, however weak might be his feelings of attachment for his country, would dare to favor such ideas openly; and still less, to recommend them to the consideration of the people.

Meanwhile, news reached me of a revolution projected by General Paredes, which revived my hopes; for, though he had been the determined enemy of every representative popular government, I supposed that he had altered his opinions; and I honored him so far as to believe him incapable of advancing schemes for European intervention in the interior administration of the republic. He succeeded, and his manifesto declaring his adhesion to the plan proposed by the troops quartered at San Louis Potosi, increased my uneasiness; because I clearly saw in it a diatribe against the independence of the nation, rather than the patriotic address of a Mexican general seeking, in good faith, to remedy the evils of his country. His perverse designs were, in fine, fully revealed, as well by his summons (for the assemblage of a Congress) of the 24th of last January, issued in consequence of this revolution, as by the newspapers showing the tendency of his administration to the establishment of a monarchy, under a foreign prince, in the republic.

As one of the principal chiefs of the independence of our country, and the founder of the republican system, I was then indignant at this endeavor of some of its sons to deliver the nation up to the scoffs of the world, and to carry it back to the ominous days of the conquest. I thereupon took the firm determination to come and aid you to save our country from such a stain, and to avoid the horrible consequences of a measure by which its glorious destiny was to be reversed, carrying it back to what it was, and to what it never should be again. To execute this determination, was to offer up my blood to any one, who, in case of failure, might choose to shed it, in compliance with the terms of the barbarous decree which drove me from the republic; but I preferred to perish in this noble attempt, rather than appear indifferent to the ignominy of my country, and see the countless sacrifices made for our independence, and the right to govern ourselves, all rendered illusory.

Mexicans! the real objects of those who, while invoking order and tranquillity, have constantly endeavored to prevent the nation from organizing its government as it chose, have now been laid

open; and the time is come when all true republicans of all parties, the body of the people as well as the army, should unite their efforts sincerely, in order to secure entirely the independence of our country, and to place it at liberty to adopt the form of government most suitable to its wishes, each sacrificing his own individual convictions to the will of the majority. How, indeed, can the minority, however wise, opulent, and powerful they may be, pretend to assume to themselves the right to regulate the affairs of the community, or to govern the majority, without an express delegation from the latter, given of their own accord, not presumed, nor still less extorted by force? This may be among people who are ignorant of their own rights, and where the want of the means of independent subsistence subjects the many to the few, who have monopolized every thing; but it is not to be effected among us, in whom the democratic spirit, in the midst of so many favoring circumstances, has been developing itself for thirty-six years, and now renders imperious and decisive, the necessity of concentrating by practice the political axiom of the sovereignty of the nation.

This most essential circumstance has been disregarded and despised in all the constitutions hitherto given to the country; and in the only one which has appeared most popular, the antagonism of the principles adopted, has rendered it ineffective; so that democracy, which alone can serve as a solid basis for our social edifice, has been unable to develop itself, and thus to afford the peace which is its instinctive law, and the other benefits ineffable, which it produces. Hence, the convulsions which have so long agitated us, and of which some European writers have taken advantage, so far as to depreciate our race; opposing the liberty and independence of the republic; manifesting the necessity of interference, in order to strengthen it against the febrile invasion of the United States; and declaring, in fine, that it would be as easy to conquer Mexico with a portion of the troops now quartered in the island of Cuba, as it was in the time of the native Mexican princes. My blood boils on seeing the contempt with which we are thus treated by men who either do not know us well, or who, interested in transplanting among us the fruits of their old social systems, and of the times in which they originated, consider America in the same state in which it was during the 16th century. Should any attempts be made, as indicated, to carry these mad plans into effect, all interests of race would be silenced, and but one voice would be heard throughout the continent. The one hemisphere would then be seen arrayed against the other, and for the disasters which would fall on the rash aggressor who should thus attempt to interfere with the internal administration of other nations, he alone would be responsible.

To pronounce thus against the many nations which form the great Hispano American family, to declare them incapable of enjoying republican institutions, is, in fact, to be ignorant of, or to conceal what is proved by the testimony of Chili, New Grenada, and Venezuela, in contradiction of such assertions. It is to attribute, no doubt, with evil intentions, to men of a certain race, de-

fects of administrative forms, which not being entirely democratic, have produced the bitter fruits of the monarchical forms, engrafted on them, without adverting to the fatal influence of the latter on the lot of the others.

To expect, moreover, to strengthen the nation by monarchy, under a foreign prince, is to suppose the existence in it of elements for the establishment and maintenance of that system; or that, wearied by its struggle to conquer its liberty, the nation sighs for European masters, or for anything else than the peace which alone it wants. Erroneous, most erroneous, indeed, is this idea. In the efforts of the nation to emancipate itself from the power of the few, who, in good or in bad faith, have endeavored to rule it in their own way, its democratic tendencies have acquired such a degree of intensity and energy, that to oppose them, to attempt to destroy the hopes to which they give birth, by a project such as that advanced, would be to provoke a desperate measure—to endeavor to cure an evil by the means calculated to exasperate it. Fascinated by the example of a nation not yet a century old, and which, under its own government, has attained a degree of prosperity and advantages not enjoyed by those of the old world, notwithstanding their antiquity, and the slow progress of their political systems, our republic aspires only to the management of its own affairs, either by itself, or through representatives, in whom it has confidence, in order to develop the vast resources of power and wealth in its bosom.

This being, therefore, its dominant, its absorbing idea, it would have resisted the other plan with all its might; and if an attempt had been made to change its direction by the employment of foreign bayonets, it would have flown to arms, and war would have burst forth throughout its immense territory, renewing even more disastrously the bloody scenes of 1820, and the succeeding years. From such a state of things, the Anglo-American race would have derived great advantages for the progress of its ambitious schemes, or for forming a new republic from our interior departments, by exciting their sympathies and gratitude for the services rendered them in repelling a project no less injurious to itself. This tendency, which has been excited in some departments by disappointment from not obtaining provincial liberties, which they desired, would have become general throughout all; and no force would have been able to restrain them from carrying such views into effect.

On the other hand, the republic being composed for the most part of young men, who have no knowledge of the past, except from the sinister accounts of their fathers, and who, educated with republican ideas, rely with confidence on a government eminently popular to lead their country to prosperity and greatness.

Where are the internal supports on which the monarchy presented as the means of our salvation, can be found? That which was, has disappeared. Habits of passive obedience no longer exist; and if there remains a sentiment of religion, time has undermined the political power of the directors of consciences. An influential aris-

tocracy, so necessary for the permanence of monarchies, such as exists in old Europe, the only proper place for institutions of that class, is not to be found, nor can it ever be organized here.

In Europe, the misery of the great mass of the over-loaded population, which depend on its own labor to obtain what is strictly and merely necessary for its subsistence, in the midst of an industry which is so severely tasked, allows no time to the people to think of their political rights, nor means to free themselves from the tyranny of the patrician families, on whom they depend—all the landed property being in their hands.

But no such state of things can be found in the republic, in which, all is uncultivated, virgin, rich, and fruitful; offering to man, in the most abundance, and with the greatest facility, all that he can ask for his labor; all that can lead to that individual independence which favors the development of democratic instincts.

These difficulties being, therefore, of such a nature, as to render nearly impossible, the establishment of monarchy in our country, attempts have been made, in order to overcome them, to throw the affairs of the republic into the greatest disorder, preventing the organization of its government within, and aggravating the most serious question of our northern frontiers with another nation.

In this manner, the faction which fostered that parricide project, having attained the first of its ends by many years of artifices and manœuvring, next proposed to carry the second into effect, by provoking, in a manner almost direct, the government of the United States to aggrandize itself by taking our rich department of Texas, and then advancing into the very heart of our country. To involve our people in the evils of a fearful invasion, has been its last resource in order to force them to accept its painful alternative; obliging them either to become the prey of Anglo-American ambition, or to fly for the safety of their national existence to monarchical forms under an European prince:

For this object, it was that this party, having the control in the Chambers of 1844-'45, refused to the government of that period the appropriations which it asked for maintaining the integrity of the national territory, already seriously jeopardized. It did more—it raised up a revolution, in which the slender allowances made to the government for that object, on its urgent demands, were unblushingly declared to be suppressed; and, on its triumph, it scattered the means collected for the war, and hastened to recognize the independence of Texas.

The chief of this revolution, who has always acted under the influence of his own fatal inspirations, then appeared again in insurrection at San Luis Potosi, with the force destined for the defence of the frontiers; and, withdrawing that force to the capital of the republic, he there usurped the supreme power, and began to put in operation his scheme of European intervention in our interior administration, whilst the hosts of the Anglo-Americans were advancing to take possession even of the banks of the Rio Bravo. Having at his disposal considerable forces in the capital and the adjoining departments, he allowed the enemy time to advance

without resistance through our territory; and at length, most tardily, he sent to Matamoras a small body of troops, needy and unprovided with anything necessary for conducting the campaign with success.

Who can fail to see in these perfidious manœuvres the bastard design of attracting the forces of the enemy to our central territories, in order there to propose to us, in the midst of the conflicts of war, as the only means of safety, the subjection of the republic to servitude, the ignominy of the country—the revival of the plan of Iguala—in fine, the return to the government of the viceroys. With this object and for this fatal moment, which every means was employed to hasten, was a Congress assembled, chosen for the purpose, composed only of representatives of certain determined classes, not forming even a sixth of our population, and elected in a manner, perfidiously arranged, to secure a number of voices sufficient to place the seal of opprobrium on the nation, leaving, with scarcely a single representative, the great majority of the nation. The eleven bishops of our diocesses were declared deputies, and our ecclesiastical cabildos were authorized to elect nine others on their parts, giving to the bishops the faculty of appointing such proxies as they might choose, to take their places in case they should not find it convenient to attend in person. Does not this prove abundantly that a decided endeavor was made to supplant the will of the nation, in order to give some species of authority to this scheme for European intervention in the settlement of our internal affairs? The protestations of republican sentiments made by General Paredes, after these irrefragable proofs so fully condemning him, were only new acts of perfidy, intended to tranquillize the republic, to set its suspicions at rest, and to arrange the occasion for carrying into effect his base designs. He uttered these protestations in the middle of March last, when he saw the public discontent manifest itself against his power and his plans. But what followed? Did he not continue to protect the *Tiempo*, a newspaper established in the capital itself, for the sole object of rendering republican forms odious, and recommending the necessity of a monarchy; advancing every argument which could be supposed calculated to lead astray the good sense of the nation? Did he convene another popular Congress? Did he retract the summons which he had issued in January, placing the fate of the nation at the mercy of the few men who remain among us of the old colonial regime? Every thing continued in the same way, and when the press was prohibited from discussing forms of government, it was in order to give an amnesty to the writers in favor of monarchy, who were then prosecuted by the judicial power, and to encourage them to continue their criminal publications, while silence was imposed on the defenders of the republican system. Meanwhile, he hastened by every means in his power the assemblage of the Congress destined to carry into effect his monarchical plan; he concentrated his forces in order to suppress all movements on the part of the people, alarmed by the near approach of such an unpropitious event; abandoning our frontier to the invaders, or

rather surrendering them to the foreign enemy; by the reverses which he had prepared and arranged at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. No, Mexicans! let there be no compromise with a party whose conduct has been a tissue of cruel treachery towards our country; have nothing to do with it, however flattering be its promises, and whatsoever the forms with which it may in future invest itself. In the last convulsions of its agony, it sought to assure its safety by its accustomed manœuvres. It proclaimed principles which it detested. It allied itself with bastard republicans, and exhibited itself as the friend of liberty, in order, by that means, to avoid its just punishment, to maintain itself in power, and to continue to undermine the edifice cemented by the illustrious blood of the Hídalgos and Morelas. The fraudulent scheme of the enemies of our country being thus unfolded, and the true source of its misfortunes being laid open to all, the radical remedy of the whole evil consists in putting an end forever to the ruinous control of minorities, by calling on the nation honestly to fix its own destiny, and to secure its territory, its honor, and its welfare. Thus placed in entire liberty to act, as it should be, in the midst of the discussions carried on by the press, in the tribune, and even in the streets and squares, it will take in consideration the evils which surround it, and seek the means of resisting them; and, satisfied in its desires, mistress of its own fate, it will display the energy peculiar to a free people; will prove equal to the conflicts in which it is to be engaged, and will come out of them, not only honorably, but moreover entirely regenerated. In this way, the administration established, resting on, and springing from, public opinion, may display all its organized forces to maintain our territory, instead of quartering them in the central towns as hitherto, under a government created by seditious movements, constantly at war with the nation, and occupied solely in endeavoring to save itself without regard for our external dangers.

Fellow-countrymen! Never has the situation of the republic been so difficult as at present. Its national existence threatened on one side; on the other an attempt has been made to subject it to the hardest of all lots, to European dominion. Such is the abyss to which we have been brought by the endeavor to govern our young society according to the system adopted in the old. This is the true cause of the long struggle in which we have been engaged, which has weakened our forces, and by which the interests of the majority have been sacrificed to the extravagant pretensions of a small minority. This state of things must be ended in compliance with the wishes of the nation: and by opposing to the former the union of republicans of true faith, the concert of the army and the people. By this union we shall conquer the independence of our country; thus united, we shall confirm it by establishing peace on the solid basis of public liberty; thus united, we shall preserve the integrity of our immense territory.

But now, with regard to the plan proposed for the revolution, it is my honor and duty to observe, that by limiting the Congress therein proclaimed, to the organization of the system of govern-

ment, and the determination of what relates to the serious question of our northern frontiers, the provisional government of the nation would find itself required, until the system has been thus organized, to use its own discretion on all other points.

This would be investing the provisional government with a dictatorship, always odious, however imperious might be the circumstances rendering it necessary.

I, therefore, propose that the said assembly should come fully authorized to determine with regard to all branches of the public administration, which may be of general interest, and within the attributes of the legislative power; the provisional executive of the nation acting with entire submission to its determinations.

I consider it, moreover, indispensable that a uniform rule be established for the regulation of the interior affairs of the departments, and that, for this purpose, the constitution of the year 1824, be adopted until the new constitutional code be completed. By this means, we shall avoid that divergency of opinions, at this critical moment, when uniformity is so much needed; the national will which sanctioned that code, will have been consulted, and the executive of the nation will have a guide to follow, so far as the present eccentric position of the republic will allow. I submit both measures to the will of the departments, expressed by the authorities, who may be established in consequence of the revolution; proposing, moreover, that the provisional government of the nation should adopt forthwith the second, as the rule of its conduct, until it be determined otherwise by the majority of the departments, in the form already indicated. The slave of public opinion myself, I shall act in accordance with it; seeking for it henceforth in the manner in which it may be known and expressed, and subjecting myself, afterwards, entirely to the decisions of the constituent assembly, the organ of the sovereign will of the nation.

Mexicans! There was once a day, and my heart dilates with the remembrance, when leading on the popular masses and the army, to demand the rights of the nation, you saluted me with the enviable title of soldier of the people. Allow me again to take it, never more to be given up, and to devote myself, until death, to the defence of the liberty and independence of the republic.

ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

HEROIC VERA CRUZ, *August 16, 1846.*

No. 6.

C. STREET, *April 5, 1847.*

SIR: Colonel Fremont received a Mexican boy, by name Pablo Hernandez, from savages in the deserts of California, on the trail from Pueblo de los Angeles to Santa Fé, of New Mexico, in the year 1844, who had killed his father and carried off his mother.

The boy was brought to the United States, and has since been taken care of by my family. General Almonte offered to take him

to Mexico, but he then preferred to remain, and the general gave him a certificate of his national character, to entitle him to protection as a Mexican. He now wishes to return to his own country. Can you send him in one of the national ships? It would be an act of courtesy towards the enemy's nation with whom we are at war.

Very respectfully,

THOMAS H. BENTON.

Hon. MR. MASON.

No. 7.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *May 3, 1847.*

SIR: I have received a communication from the Hon. Mr. Benton, dated April 5th, in regard to a passage in a national vessel, to his native country, for Pablo Hernandez, a Mexican citizen, who was brought to the United States by Colonel Fremont.

The schooner *Flirt* will sail from Norfolk in the course of two or three days, and will call at Vera Cruz. If his friends desire it, the department will afford Hernandez a passage in her to that port.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. Y. MASON.

CARY JONES, Esq., *Washington, D. C.*

No. 8.

WASHINGTON, *May 4, 1847.*

SIR: On behalf of Mr. Benton, I thank you for your attention to his note in regard to the Mexican youth, Pablo Hernandez. Those who have had the young man in care will avail themselves of the opportunity you have been good enough to offer, and he will go immediately to Norfolk to embark.

Very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

WM. CARY JONES.

Hon. JOHN Y. MASON,
Secretary of the Navy.

No. 9.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *May 4, 1847.*

SIR: Permission has been given to William H. Tracey, esq., to take passage in the United States schooner "*Flirt*" to Vera Cruz. Enclosed is a copy of a letter from the Hon. Mr. Benton, respect-

ing Pablo Hernandez, a Mexican citizen, who was brought to the United States by Colonel Fremont. The department has given the permission desired, and you will be pleased to furnish a passage to Hernandez in the "Flirt" to Vera Cruz if he appears.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN Y. MASON.

Commodore C. W. SKINNER,

Commandant U. S. Navy Yard, Norfolk.

No. 10.

U. S. FLAG SHIP GERMANTOWN,
Anton Lizardo, August 18, 1847.

SIR: On visiting Vera Cruz yesterday, I was informed by Governor Wilson of the landing of General Paredes from the British mail steamer Tevoit.

Commander Farragut, of the Saratoga, was at Vera Cruz at the time of the arrival of the steamer, and is now there; but he did not cause her to be boarded, for reason, as he informs me, that he thought it might be interfering with the authority of the captain of the port.

I have this day issued a general order, (of which the enclosed paper, marked B, is a copy.) It is not always, however, that I can spare a vessel to remain long at Vera Cruz.

Enclosed is a copy also of a letter addressed to the senior officer of her Britannic Majesty's naval forces stationed off Vera Cruz. A copy of his reply will be forwarded when received.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY,

Commanding Home Squadron.

Hon. J. Y. MASON,

Secretary of the Navy.

U. S. SHIP GERMANTOWN,
Anton Lizardo, August 18, 1847.

SIR: I regret that I should be obliged to call your attention to the fact, that the British government mail steamer Tevoit, in her last passage from Havana to Vera Cruz, brought as passenger a distinguished Mexican officer, General Paredes, who was secretly landed in the city, with the knowledge and connivance, as it is presumed, of the officers of the steamer.

Refraining at present from commenting upon this extraordinary transaction, may I request of you such information as will enable me to communicate all the circumstances to my government.

With great respect, I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY,

Commanding Home Squadron.

To the SENIOR OFFICER

Of her Britannic Majesty's naval forces, Vera Cruz.

B.

[GENERAL ORDER, No. 11.]

All vessels, excepting army steamers and transports, arriving at ports in Mexico held by the United States forces, are to be visited by a boat from the guard-ship of the day, or any single vessel of the squadron that may be in port, for the purpose of tendering the usual compliment of services to foreign vessels of war, and of detecting any irregularities in foreign mail steamers, of merchant vessels, whether foreign or American.

It is desirable, when it is practicable, that the boarding officer should be a lieutenant.

M. C. PERRY,
Commanding Home Squadron.

U. S. FLAG SHIP GERMANTOWN,
Anton Lizardo, August 18, 1847.

No. 11.

U. S. FLAG SHIP GERMANTOWN,
Vera Cruz, September 7, 1847.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose, herewith, a copy of a letter addressed by me to the senior officer of her Britannic Majesty's naval forces at present here, together with a copy of the reply thereto.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY,
Commanding Home Squadron.

HON. JOHN Y. MASON,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington.

UNITED STATES FLAG SHIP GERMANTOWN,
Anton Lizardo, August 18, 1847.

SIR: I regret that I should be obliged to call your attention to the fact, that the British government mail steamer Teviot, on her last passage from Havana to Vera Cruz, brought as passenger a distinguished Mexican officer, General Paredes, who was secretly landed in the city, with the knowledge and connivance, as it is presumed, of the officers of the steamer.

Refraining at present from commenting upon this extraordinary transaction, may I request of you such information as will enable me to communicate all the circumstances to my government.

With great respect, I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY,
Commanding Home Squadron.

TO THE SENIOR OFFICER
Of H. B. M. naval forces, Vera Cruz.

HER MAJESTY'S SLOOP PERSIAN,
Green Island, Vera Cruz, August 21, 1847.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 20th August, drawing my attention to the fact that the British government mail steamer Teviot, on her late passage from Havana to Vera Cruz, brought, as passenger, General Paredes, who was secretly landed in the city, with the knowledge and connivance, as it is presumed, of the officers of the steamer.

I most certainly regret that any circumstance should take place to interrupt the very good feeling that exists at the port of Vera Cruz between the English subjects there and the United States government. But, as I think that you may not be aware exactly what position the Royal Mail Steampacket Company hold, with respect to the British government, I will take the liberty of explaining it.

They are simply steam vessels belonging to the above company, who have agreed with the British government to carry mails, and perform other services for a specified sum of money.

An officer belonging to the British royal navy is on board each of these vessels, in charge of the mails, and to see that the contract is performed. If the officer in command (who is appointed by the company) has broken the neutrality between the two countries, (America and England,) or any port regulations at Vera Cruz, he (the officer commanding) is answerable for it.

The particulars of the above case I have not had an opportunity of knowing anything about, as the Teviot sailed immediately for Tampico.

Any communication that you, sir, wish to make to me on the subject, will be forwarded to my government through the usual channels.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

HENRY LONGTON,

Commander and senior officer in the Gulf of Mexico.

Commodore PERRY,

Commander-in-chief U. S. navy in the Gulf of Mexico.

No. 12.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, *October 20, 1847.*

SIR: Your despatches, numbered 15 and 23, respecting the landing of General Paredes from the British mail steamer Teviot, with their respective enclosures, have been received.

The general order No. 11, issued by you on the 18th of August, a copy of which is enclosed in your No. 15, is approved by the department.

Your correspondence with her Britannic Majesty's senior officer on the station, shows that the mail steamers are not national vessels. There is no disposition to withhold the privileges originally

granted, in a spirit of great liberality, to their commercial interests. But if, as in the case of the introduction of General Paredes, an avowed public enemy of our country, the privilege is to be abused, the right of seizure conferred by the law of nations, must be exercised. It will be borne in mind, however, that this right must be exercised while the vessel violating is in delicto. If the Teviot shall hereafter visit Vera Cruz, she cannot be seized for her conduct on the occasion of her landing General Paredes.

The Secretary of State has addressed a despatch on the subject to our minister at London, of which I enclose you a copy, and in which you will find the principles of the law of nations, bearing on the subject, very clearly stated.

The confident belief is entertained that her majesty's government will take the necessary measures to prevent the recurrence of so gross an abuse of the liberal indulgence extended by our government to her subjects.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. Y. MASON.

Com. M. C. PERRY,

Commanding U. S. Squadron, Gulf of Mexico.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Washington, January 12, 1848.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, in conformity with your directions, copies of all such papers, on the files and records of this department, as are required by the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 4th instant, which is in the following terms:

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to this House any instructions which may have been given to any of the officers of the army or navy of the United States, or other persons, in regard to the return of President General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, or any other Mexican, to the republic of Mexico, prior or subsequent to the order of the President or Secretary of War, issued in January, 1846, for the march of the army from the Nueces river across the 'stupendous deserts,' which intervene, to the Rio Grande. That the date of all such instructions, orders, and correspondence be set forth, together with the instructions and orders issued to Mr. Slidell, at any time prior or subsequent to his departure for Mexico, as minister plenipotentiary of the United States to that republic.

"Resolved further, That the President be requested to communicate all the orders and correspondence of the government in relation to the return of General Paredes to Mexico."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY,

Secretary of War.

To the PRESIDENT of the United States.

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF VERA CRUZ,
August 15, 1847.

SIR: I have the honor to report that, on the 14th instant, the British steamer *Teviot*, Captain May, arrived here from England and the Havana, having General Paredes on board, under the assumed name of M. Martinez, who, in consequence of the tardiness of the boarding officer, Captain Clarke, landed at between 6 and 7, a. m., incognito, from a four oared boat, apparently prepared for the occasion; in his transit through the gate of the mole he was recognized by an inspector, who took no notice of him; therefore, I immediately ordered the discharge of both him and Captain Clarke, the former for having lost sight of the main object of his appointment as inspector, in giving no notice, notwithstanding my office is but a few yards from the mole.

A short distance from the wharf he (General Paredes) was met by the British government courier and Mr. Alexander Atocha, both of whom recognised the person of General P. That the British courier should report nothing is a matter of no surprise, but that Mr. Atocha should show so much indifference on the arrival of such an important person seemed to me strange. I therefore requested him to appear at my office, and inquired from him if he claimed to be an American. He answered in the affirmative. I then put the question, the reason why, as an American citizen, he did not at once report the arrival of General Paredes? His answer was, that he was no spy; that he asked nothing from the United States, and wished nothing from them; in short, it appeared to me that he, as an American, lost sight that it was his duty to co-operate in any way (whilst residing here) that might result in the benefit of his adopted country.

The foreigners have also shown, (that, forgetting they are neutrals, and that as such they are bound to side with neither party,) in this particular occasion, feelings decidedly hostile to our government—the English house of Manning, Mackintosh, & Co., having requested from Mr. Dimond, the collector, the keys of the luggage known to belong to General Paredes.

The general having arrived at the house of a Mr. José G. Zamora, a native merchant, he presented a letter of introduction from Paris, and requested that horses might directly be furnished for himself and servant—a request immediately complied with; and, but ten minutes after his landing, he passed through one of the gates of the city, on his way to the interior, without myself or any of my officers being able to avoid it, from the circumstance of his arrival and presence here being unknown, and the letters from the United States consul at the Havana, giving notice of his having left, not being delivered to me until after the general's departure, owing to their being in possession of a lady passenger on board.

The conduct of the commander of the steamer is reprehensible in the highest degree, for landing an enemy to a friendly nation in a port in her possession. Which facts I report for your consideration and action thereon, as you may think expedient, for it is a

well known circumstance, ascertained from the passengers, that the captain of the steamer was aware of the character of his passenger, who, in various conversations, remarked that Mexico was indeed an unfortunate country, and that a country where no man but Santa Anna could rule, who possessed neither talent, honesty or military capacity, was indeed to be pitied; that he was, therefore, sure that no alternative remained but to throw herself either in the arms of the United States or those of the European nations.

You will, therefore, perceive that, if General Paredes left this city, it was from no want of vigilance, for, on the fact being made known to me, I immediately ordered the search of the whole block from whence he took his departure, but in vain; he had left, and that surely before the boarding officer had even visited the steamer.

I have acquainted you with the whole circumstances of the case, that you may, should you think proper, lay it before the Secretary of State for his information, respecting the conduct of the commander of a vessel of a neutral and friendly power, such as Great Britain would seem to appear; and have, in consequence, directed Mr. Dimond, collector of this port, to communicate with the British consul, requesting to know the cause why the commander of the packet Teviot allowed any passenger to land, contrary to all established regulations, before being visited by the regularly appointed person named to discharge that duty.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

HENRY WILSON,

Colonel United States Army, Commanding.

Hon. WILLIAM L. MARCY,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF VERA CRUZ,

August 31, 1847.

SIR: I herewith have the honor to enclose copies of my communication to H. B. M. consul in this city, and his answer thereon, in relation to Captain May, commander of the mail steamer Teviot.

I am, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

HENRY WILSON,

Colonel United States Army, Commanding.

Hon. WILLIAM L. MARCY,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

VERA CRUZ, *August 30, 1847.*

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that, on the return to this port of the British mail steamer Teviot, I directed that Captain May, her commander, be notified not to land, under any pretence

whatever, while laying in this harbor, but offering every facility to her officers and crew in whatever they should require.

I have been compelled to the adoption of the above course from the aggravating circumstances attending the landing of General Paredes, the ex-president of Mexico, which, if they have not compromised that harmony happily existing between the United States and the nation you so worthily represent, still a gross violation has been committed on the universal standing port regulations, and specially here where our peculiar position requires the most strict observance of neutrality from foreign vessels arriving in this anchorage, and have, in consonance with the above, represented the whole circumstance in relation to this case to the honorable Secretary of War at Washington, for the consideration of the government of the United States.

I cannot but regret this untoward occurrence, the means of clouding the sincere good feeling entertained by the authorities here towards the British mail packets, but will, nevertheless, uniformly afford him all the facilities heretofore conceded them, convinced that every endeavor will be made by you for the continuance of that cordiality which your official course has tended to cement.

Accept, sir, the assurances of my high consideration and sincere regard.

HENRY WILSON.

Colonel U. S. A., Governor of Vera Cruz.

FRANCIS GIFFORD, Esq.,

H. B. M. Consul, Vera Cruz.

I certify the foregoing to be a true copy.

B. H. ARTHUR,

Adjutant 1st U. S. Infantry.

BRITISH CONSULATE,

Vera Cruz, August 27, [30,] 1847.

SIR : I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this day, relating to Captain May, of the royal mail steam packet Teviot, and to state in reply, that a copy thereof shall be laid forthwith before her majesty's government.

With renewed expressions of regret that anything should have occurred to cause you personal annoyance.

I have the honor to remain, sir, your very obedient humble servant,

F. GIFFORD,

H. B. M. Consul.

To Colonel WILSON,

Governor of the city of Vera Cruz.

I certify the above to be a true copy.

B. H. ARTHUR,

Adjutant 1st U. S. Infantry.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, September 24, 1847.

SIR: Your letters of the 15th and 31st of August have been received, and laid before the President. Your prompt discharge of the inspector, and the officer whose duty it was to board the British steamer, is approved. Whatever may be the effect of the introduction of General Paredes into Mexico, it is not creditable to the post, held by military occupation, that it failed to intercept a known public enemy from passing through the sentries, and successfully evading the regulations adopted to prevent such occurrences. Persons claiming to be American citizens, who may become apprised of the admission of a public enemy of the United States, and fail duly to notify the authorities, are as much wanting in duty, as if they were to withhold notice of the approach of an armed force of the enemy. It is in your discretion to require persons whose views of duty to the United States do not, as they conceive or pretend, call on them to communicate to you such intelligence, to leave the limits of your command.

The circumstances, so far as they implicate the commander or officers of the British mail steamer, have been communicated by the Secretary of State to Mr. Bancroft, our minister at London, with a view to have them brought to the notice of the British government. They will, also, I am pleased to observe, reach the same destination through your correspondence with her Britannic Majesty's consul. I enclose you a copy of Mr. Buchanan's despatch, which states very clearly the legal consequences which attached to the steamer, for her violation of the law of nations, in introducing General Paredes into the limits of your command. But any such penalty must be enforced when the vessel is in delicto, but proceedings against her cannot be instituted in case of her return. The President is persuaded that the liberal views entertained for the interest of neutral commerce, pursuant to which the permission was given to the British mail steamers to pass the blockading force, before the capture of Vera Cruz, and to enter the harbor since, will be duly appreciated by her Britannic Majesty's government, and that it will not fail to show its strong disapprobation of the conduct of the officers of the Teviot, and will prevent the occurrence of a similar abuse of the privileges conferred by our government.

You will use the utmost degree of vigilance in guarding against such a recurrence. The measures communicated in your letter of the 31st ultimo, are approved, and you will enforce them, until you are otherwise ordered.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

Colonel HENRY WILSON.

VERA CRUZ, *October 19, 1847.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 24th September, enclosing a copy of a communication addressed by

the Secretary of State to the honorable Mr. Bancroft, minister to Great Britain, in relation to her Britannic Majesty's steam packet Teviot.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

HENRY WILSON,

Colonel U. S. Army, commanding.

To Hon. WM. L. MARCY,

Secretary of War, Washington.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, July 27, 1846.

SIR: The commissioners appointed by the United States to treat with the Camanche Indians, redeemed from them a captive Mexican boy, by paying a ransom of \$150. He accompanied a deputation of the Prairie Indians to this city. It has been determined to restore him to his parents and friends, who reside in the department of Chihuahua; and, in order to do this, he has been sent to the quartermaster, at New Orleans, with directions to send him to you. You will, in the way you deem most expedient, return him to his friends. All we know of him, or them, we have learnt from himself. He will inform you of the particular part of the department from which he was taken. By the treaty between the United States and Mexico, that republic would be bound to refund the sum paid for his ransom, and the expenses of returning him, but the occurrence of war has abrogated that treaty in this respect. It is thought that the sending him to his parents would have a good effect upon the people of that province.

Mr. William S. Parrott, now of this city, long a resident in Mexico, is personally acquainted with the present governor of Chihuahua, and has written him a letter on the subject of returning this captive. I herewith enclose it to you to be forwarded to him.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

W. L. MARCY,

Secretary of War.

Major General Z. TAYLOR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 12, 1848.

The Secretary of State, to whom has been referred the resolutions of the House of Representatives of the 4th instant, has the honor to communicate to the President, in compliance with the second resolution, all the orders and correspondence of the government, in possession of this department, in relation to the return of General Paredes to Mexico.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

To the PRESIDENT, of the United States.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, September 14, 1847.

SIR: I transmit you the copy of a letter, bearing date the 15th ultimo, from Colonel Henry Wilson, of the United States army, the acting governor of Vera Cruz, addressed to the War Department. From this, as well as other information, it appears that Captain May, of the British steamer "Teviot," although fully aware of the character of his passenger, brought General Paredes from the Havana to Vera Cruz, and connived at, if he did not directly aid in, his landing at that port in a clandestine manner, and contrary to the established regulations requiring a visit from the proper inspecting officer before any passengers could be landed.

That the captain of the British steamer, by this conduct, has been guilty of a grave and serious violation of the duties of neutrality which Great Britain owes to the United States, can neither be doubted nor denied. It is known to the world that General Paredes, as president of Mexico, was the chief author of the existing war between that republic and the United States, and that he is the avowed and embittered enemy of our country. The British captain must have known that all his influence would be exerted to prolong and exasperate this war. It is, indeed, truly astonishing that, with a knowledge of these facts, he should have brought this hostile Mexican general, under an assumed name, on board of a British mail steamer, to Vera Cruz, and aided or permitted him to land clandestinely, for the purpose of rushing into the war against the United States. If any circumstance could aggravate this violation of neutrality, it would be the extraordinary privileges which this government has granted to British mail steamers, ever since the commencement of the present war.

The President has not yet determined what course he will pursue in regard to British mail steamers. The great law of self defence would, under the circumstances, justify him in withdrawing the privilege altogether from these steamers of entering the port of Vera Cruz, and thus effectually prevent the landing of enemies in disguise. He will not, however, resort at present to this extreme measure, convinced as he is that the British government will, at once, upon your representation, adopt efficient means to prevent such violation of their neutrality for the future.

In the mean time, Colonel Wilson will be instructed to adopt the necessary means, under the law of nations, for the purpose of preventing and punishing similar outrages on our belligerent rights. British mail steamers cannot be suffered to bring to Vera Cruz either Mexican citizens or the subjects of any other nation, for the purpose of engaging in the existing war on the part of Mexico against the United States.

A neutral vessel which carries a Mexican officer of high military rank to Mexico, for the purpose of taking part in hostilities against our country, is liable to confiscation, according to the opinion of Sir William Scott, in the case of the *Orozembo*, (6 Robinson's Reports, 430,) and this even although her captain and officers were

ignorant that they had such a person on board. That is their look out. Such ignorance is no excuse, because it is their duty to inquire into the character of their passengers. The consequence is the same to the belligerent as if they had acted with full knowledge. "Otherwise," in the language of that distinguished jurist, "such opportunities of conveyance would be constantly used, and it would be almost impossible, in the greater number of cases, to prove the knowledge and privity of the immediate offenders."

You are instructed to make Lord Palmerston fully acquainted with the conduct of Captain May. I do not know whether he, or any of his officers, who may be implicated in this serious charge, are officers in the British service. Should this prove to be the case, then you will ask for their dismissal, or such other punishment as may clearly manifest that the British government has disapproved their conduct.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

GEORGE BANCROFT, Esq., &c., &c.

90 EATON SQUARE, *October 8, 1847.*

MY LORD: In consequence of instructions from the American government, I called at the foreign office a few days ago, to represent to your lordship the conduct of Captain May, of the British mail steamer "Teviot" who, unmindful of his duty as a neutral, and using improperly the extraordinary privileges which the American government has granted to British mail steamers ever since the commencement of the present war with Mexico, in the month of August last brought from the Havana to Vera Cruz, General Paredes, late President of Mexico, the author of the war of Mexico against the United States, and their avowed and embittered enemy.

By the principles of British law, according to the opinion of Sir William Scott, (6 Robinson's Reports, 430,) Captain May has rendered the "Teviot" liable to confiscation or, the President of the United States might effectually prevent similar aid to the enemy by withdrawing from these steamers the privilege of entering the port of Vera Cruz. But I am confident her majesty's government will render such steps unnecessary, by adopting efficient means to prevent for the future such violations of their neutrality.

If Captain May, or any of his officers implicated in this serious charge are officers in the British service, I feel bound to ask for their dismissal or punishment in such other way as may clearly manifest that the British government has disapproved their conduct.

I have the honor to be, my Lord, with high consideration, your Lordships obedient humble servant,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, &c., &c., &c.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *October 12th*, 1847.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, stating that you have been instructed by the government of the United States to complain that Captain May, of the British mail steamer "Teviot," violated the belligerent rights of the United States, by bringing the Mexican General, Paredes, from the Havana to Vera Cruz, in the month of August last.

And I have to inform you that I have referred the above complaint to the proper department of her majesty's government, in order that the charge brought against the captain of the "Teviot" may be officially investigated.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,
PALMERSTON.

GEORGE BANCROFT, Esq., &c., &c., &c.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *November 16th*, 1847.

SIR: In answer to your letter of the 8th instant, complaining of the conduct of Captain May, of the British mail steamer "Teviot" in having conveyed General Paredes from the Havana to Vera Cruz, in the month of August last, I have the honor to state to you that the lords commissioners of the admiralty having investigated the circumstances of this affair, her majesty's government have informed the directors of the Royal Mail Steampacket Company, to whom the steamer "Teviot" belongs, that the directors are bound to testify, in a marked manner, their disapproval of Captain May's conduct, in having thus abused the indulgence afforded to the company's vessels by the government of the United States, and the directors of the company have accordingly stated to her majesty's government that they will immediately suspend Captain May from his command; and that they publicly and distinctly condemn any act on the part of their officers which may be regarded as a breach of faith towards the government of the United States, or as an infringement or invasion of the regulations established by the United States' officers in those parts of Mexico which are occupied by the forces of the United States.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

PALMERSTON.

GEORGE BANCROFT, Esq., &c., &c., &c.





